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BLACK FLAG

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Issued by voluntary labour.

Some readers have told us that on our last cover (no. 10) we mixed up the captions of Georg and Johann von Rauch. They are brothers and look very similar, except for the hair style. But we understand we are correct: the photo of Georg is an earlier photo before he grew his hair long. Johann looks very similar to him just before his death. We may be wrong, but this is the explanation given us by folks who knew both in the Black Cross.

It is of consequence only to historians. The murder of von Rauch by the police will be the subject of many books years hence. It is an integral part of the neo-Nazism in its rise against the young revolutionaries of Germany.

HEARTFELT PLEA Once we got put on a directory list of PEACE & PROGRESSIVE movements (whatever they are). We spent two years being deluged with free shitpaper from the Eastern European dictatorships. Now someone has listed us somewhere as UNDERGROUND - whatever that means either - and we are being swamped with hippy, esoteric handouts, appeals for rehabbing druggies, come-to-Jesus commercials and mysterious sample papers. It ain't our scene, man. You get stuffed, not our letterbox. It's all we got. No office, nothing.

OUR COVER shows the Renault workers queueing up to pay homage to PIERRE OVERNEY, a militant who died in the class struggle. In the struggle to establish racial equality at Renault's - as an integral part of a campaign for WORKERS' CONTROL by WORKERS' COUNCILS, Pierre was killed - as others have been in the past.

AN ANARCHIST BULLETIN PUBLISHED IN THE INTERESTS OF A WORKING CLASS REVOLUTION .....

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Albert Meltzer:

WHY THE CONSPIRACY CASE IS IMPORTANT

WHEN THE BIG BLOW-UP comes in Spain the ruling-classes of the world may not be able to contain it. Elsewhere, revolt is hampered by tenuous associations with nationalism. There, only two possibilities exist: genocide backed by military rule or social revolution.

THE FUTURE OF SPAIN has been the subject of numerous conspiracies throughout the years. Even the matrimonial beds of the Spanish kings and queens have not been sacred: statesmen have descended to the level of pimps to provide eunuchs as consorts in order to manoeuvre the succession; the impotent and the mad have been mated. Fathers have murdered sons. Wars not only civil but between other great nations have been sparked off to make sure the Peninsula was safe. In living memory the major powers of the world, while the country was at peace, have poured in conspirators and finally soldiers, have bombed it and destroyed it in the interests of Power.

NOW ONCE AGAIN THERE IS A CONSPIRACY. The country cannot live on under military rule, but the ruling alliance cannot even guarantee their individual lives without it. The Church, arch-conspirator, dabbles in a plot to impose a new rule from above, by the Opus Dei, or to supplant it by another force favourable to

itself, the Christian Democrats, who have Communist support. All the great powers of consequence in the struggle are backing this plan. The CP does not want revolution, it wants no more American bases and trade and friendship with Eastern Europe. The capitalist powers will go along with this for the sake of 'peace'. Trade Unionists from almost every country in Europe - bar one, Spain itself - have formulated a plan for reorganising Spanish labour under a safe bureaucracy, controlled by the CP, in return for which the Christian Demos have the chance to get the country in the Common Market and stimulate Big Business.

INTO THIS CONSPIRACY we of the Anarchist Black Cross "stumbled like fools" and in human life we have paid for this "mistake" (and fools as we are, we will go on paying). Nobody objected to "helping prisoners" in the manner of a Lady Bountiful with Tetley's teabags and improving (though not revolutionary) tracts. A few cigarettes and a bit of God-bothering would have been welcomed. It would have reconciled the prisoners to their lot. But active solidarity was a crime in the eyes of the State. Why was Christie harassed from the moment he came back to England? Why have literally thousands of pounds - perhaps running into the million - been spent on surveillance and harassment of one gas-fitter and his circle of friends? (An investment that could not be overlooked when, seven months ago, he walked into the web and all that was lacking was to put a little 'evidence' in his car).

THE INTERNATIONAL POLITICAL POLICE (Political Section, Interpol) feared that the new inspiration we gave to the Spanish prisoners - and, as important, that they gave to others - would encourage the "First of May" inside Spain and so every guerrilla group outside. That all the careful plans for a take-over of Spain would be foiled by the old black-and-red being unfurled once more, and that this would spark off an '1848' - a year of revolutions. For this world governments are preparing (none more so than the British Army, trying out its techniques in Ulster). But if it does not work out as they wish, if it is not "confrontation" in the open, which they want, but an attack on the ruling-class personally, and if at the same time there is a seizure of the places of work, Authoritorianism will be devalued.

THEY PREFER THE PROVOCATION of taking innocent people as 'hostages' and hoping, by terror, to frighten the chicken-hearted into Non-Resistance in the guise of the fashionable pacifism now preached by Enoch Powell. But by frightening off the false friends they strengthen the revolutionary movement rather than weaken it.

ANGRY? A lot of us are angry now, gentlemen. It is not a brigade any more. It is a division. Soon it will be an Army.

- - - - -

THE SHOOTINGS IN SPAIN

As the life of Franco totters to its close, the State passes into crisis. It is the subject of international intrigue. It is a time of crisis for the ruling-class. In Spain there seems to be no alternative between patching up fascism and the social revolution. For the workers, a period of liberalism, however attractive it may appear to those who are selling out on the struggle, can only appear as a prelude to social expropriation.

That is why one section intrigues with the other to gain the succession. But the regime itself understands only one method, that has, for it, stood the test of time: sheer brute force. Read, on another page, of the arrests in Valencia. Neither State nor Church has changed.

EL FERROL During the demonstrations in El Ferrol for increases in wagew (during recognised negotiations) the police opened fire. At least thirty were shot in the streets. Two workers, while this was going on, were murdered by the police. But even this was not enough. The School of Marines is situated in El Ferrol (a Navy town in Galicia, where Franco was born, incidentally): the marines were called in to augment the police. There was a General Strike called in protest, and even the Navy was put on alert. Gunboats patrolled the harbour: a conscription was threatened.

(Hostages, again!) The whole town joined in this protest against police murder and Navy intimidation. The workers fought back.

The mass action went beyond ideological limits: all joined in. There were explosions in police stations and barracks. Unrest spread throughout the country: even workers in the Catholic movement joined in - in Granada, three of them were shot.

A Communist, Patiño, was distributing leaflets in Madrid: when the police saw him he ran away, and was shot dead ("ley de fuga" - "shot while trying to escape" - the old police rule in Spain). Now the Communists are using his death as a pretext to claim they are prominent in the uprising. All they have ever done is to distribute leaflets. Their attachment to non-violence as usual is given high-sounding motives: it is not lack of ruthlessness, it is their need to depend on the bourgeoisie as allies, that induces it. And they know, too, that when the Spanish workers shake off non-resistance and it comes to action, political leadership counts for nothing.

SOLIDARITY WITH STUART CHRISTIE.

MAY DAY

This May Day... remember the political prisoners... wherever they are... In the 'socialist democracies'... in fascist countries... in the 'emerging nations'.... in the capitalist world ....in the prisons of every government. In the words of the old IWW song... "REMEMBER YOU'RE INSIDE FOR US WHILE WE'RE OUT HERE FOR YOU".

A Buenos Aires daily recently remarked of the arrest of Stuart Christie, almost at the same time that a Spanish edition of 'Floodgates of Anarchy' appeared there, that it did not seem as if the detention of rebels under dubious charges not for what they had done, but for what they believed in, was "evidently not the exclusive right of any one country, nor even of any one ideological system..." even in democratic England the same happened.

> This May Day British Embassies and Consulates throughout the world will be asked how it is that British Political Police can co-operate (in defiance of the Official Secrets Act) with the Spanish Political Police in order to harass and frame a British worker and confirmed anti-Fascist.

CORRESPONDENCE

You ask (in issue No.10) "how many papers could appear even late with the editor in jail?" Could these words be penned by a printworker? Where is the editor of your actual daily? - not in jail, I suppose, but on the Riviera? At his club? When hell breaks loose at the press it is because the copyboy is at the betting shop ...

Marty.

(We over-generalised. But on a bulletin of this kind the work is somewhat heavier. At £80 a week a professional journalist would do less work and less wordage than we do on this bulletin alone in our spare time.. and we keep the Anarchist Black Cross running too, apart from other activity. It is a miracle this paper appears with its editor in jail. A miracle dependent upon receiving subscriptions).

STUART CHRISTIE DEFENCE FUND.

In addition to asking all who can to support the STOKE NEWINGTON SIX (PLUS) FUND in solidarity with all our comrades now on trial, anarchist or socialist, we have asked friends of Stuart to help with our support of Stuart, now over half a year in jail before even coming to trial.

ACKNOWLEDGED:

Ben L. £25; AM £25; DC £5.40; London collection per MP £6.50; John G £1; Jim £1 .

Contributions can be sent c/o Black Flag.

GENERAL FUND: Being run by Compendium Bookshop. Send to Stoke Newington Six Plus c/o Compendium, 240 Camden High Street, London, N. W. 1.

QUIZ

1. Who was (and by whom) described as
   (a) the anarchist prince
   (b) Queen of the Anarchists
   (c) King of the Anarchists
   (d) the Anarchist Duke
   (e) the anarchist capitalist ?

2. British film-star of '20s and '30s united with Conservative MP for Tottenham in movement against aliens and American films; later in Hollywood ran a private army "to fight anarchism and the revolution" if it arose. Who?

3. What have the following "Victorians" in common:
   Lord Palmerston, PM; anarchist Peter Kropotkin; banker Baron de Rothschild; "our man in Turkey" Sir Strafford de Redcliffe, and Prince Albert, the Prince Consort?

4. What is Adolf Marx famous for saying?

ANSWERS: Page 12

TOUJOURS L'AUDACE

Miss Bernadette Devlin wentto to France to speak on March 14th. When her plane touched down at Bordeaux, she was flown back - refused entry... so much for the aspirations of the Common Market and go where you like... But the statement of the French Ministry of the Interior was the limit of audacity. It had nothing to do with the situation in Ireland, they said. "We did not appreciate what she said in a Left-Wing meeting in Paris a couple of years ago... We have enough of those people over here and we prefer not inviting any others from foreign countries".

Obviously these bureaucrats think they own France.

Who has decided "we have enough of these people"? We ma y not agree with Miss Devlin but she would stand a lot nearer the people of France than the faceless bureaucrats. But if they mean they, the bureaucrats of the Ministry, want no more rebels we understand. The French workers don't want the bureaucrats.

THERE OUGHT TO BE A LAW AGAINST IT...

So says every politician when something unpleasant happens. He then seeks to find how he can put himself in the limelight and benefit from it.

After the second pile-up massacre on the M.1. in a few weeks, Mr. Raphael Tuck (MP for Watford) suggested drastic ways of ending "motorway madness". There is no doubt that he is right when he speaks of how cars drive madly in fog conditions and then pile up. The penalty they pay, as so graphically seen in these two incidents, is death. They kill themselves and their families and strangers. Every driver knows this. As a deterrent Mr. Tuck proposes "ten years imprisonment".

He follows an old Parliamentary tradition. Only until recently the law "deterred" suicides by a penalty of six months to two years jail. But you had to be unsuccessful to serve it.

A further bright suggestion from Mr.Tuck was "two years jail" for any motorist who exceeded the limit "by 10 m.p.h. (which most of them do at the least). The only possible proof would be the word of the police. Oh,hum.

WHAT ANARCHISM IS ABOUT

- and the 'alternative' society

Among the spostles of the 'alternative society' who want to adopt the name anarchism while no further commitment attaches, we are regarded as the wet blankets of the movement. They cannot very well say we are <u>not</u> anarchists, for to do so would be to wipe out all that history of anarchist struggle which some of the new lefters like to incorporate provided it is far enough away in space or time.

'Alternative London' writes of us with despair as being stuffed with cliches - and not the writer's own hip cliches of which the 'ook 'Alternative London' is stuffed - and we are not quite groovy enough for most of the 'underground'. But the 'underground' is not only not underground - as obvious as you can get, one would think - it has nothing revolutionary about it.

Sometimes you get the pseudo 'anarchist' saying "Anarchism is about the search for an alternative society, alternative ways of living...." and never about revolution. For him or her, revolution is impossible and class war does not exist. (Those are 'cliches' not the hip phrases). If this is not expressed in commercial-underground backchat, it is given out as 'pacifist'-anarchism, the suggestion being that in addition to non-violent anarchism there is also one at the extreme limit of violence.

All this, in fact, has to do with LIBERALISM. They do not like the name (though sometimes take it by sugaring the pill and calling it Libertarianism). The object of Liberalism is as much freedom as possible within a State. It has not to do with complete freedom and abolishing the State. If it wants to, it claims it is impossible.

An alternative society is possible within capitalism, as the New Liberalism suggests. But Anarchism has to do with the abolition of the capitalist, wage and profit systems. It is possible to live better, in a more free fashion, within the State. But Anarchism means a struggle against the State.

Many pop singers, publishers, advertising men, record pluggers, writers, journalists and others have cashed in on the New Liberalism to make money, and to achieve their liberation within the State and within capitalist society. They have built themselves an alternative way of living, as who with money could not. That is the way of political liberalism. An anarchist revolution would sweep them aside.

The idea of 'dwarves' with their reforms and do-goodism is not unknown to Liberalism. It is a means of constructing a State within a State, or reforming a State. But their 'alternative culture' has nothing to do with anarchism. In a free society there would be a diversity of cultures.

SELL OUT IN BELFAST

The taking over of Northern Ireland by Westminster and the imposition of direct rule is dreaded by the people who have shouted loudest and longest for the 'British connection' and waved the Union (I'm all right) Jack.

Now they see that in any crisis involving the interests of their rulers, their own sectarian interests are forgotten. Was it for this 'my father wore the sash' and for the Green Tories in Dublin 'the wild geese flew'?

Already Westminster and Dublin have made their secret pacts. They have intrigued and fought and sent their agents into the ranks of the Republicans and Loyalists to take control of the guerrilla movement. While the blood has been shed, the talks have been going on in a haze of cigar smoke. Today it is 'direct rule': tomorrow it will be whatever suits the ruling-class, whether they have to sell out the workers in the North or not. How bitterly they now regret that they tied a militant working-class movement to the Tory Party - and made themselves a historical laughing-stock. Even now, they think of a general strike to back up diehard Unionism that the Tories have forsaken.

But a working-class that thinks in those terms will not remain down. The humbug of religion, in its dirtiest role as a banner to wave in war and a preserver of hatred in peace, and the poison ivy of nationalism that clings around the State, have done their worst.

And one may reflect that if the 'Protestant' workers of the North have been encased in this anachronistic Tory shell, they have at least not been corroded by the pseudo-socialism of the current world. They have been dragged shouting away from the Tory fold. The 'Catholic' workers, for lack of a revolutionary consciousness and of means of self-protection, let the IRA (both brands) step in the gap and take over, like a new State, when protection seemed necessary. They too bitterly regret their mistake (against which direct rule seems a lesser evil to many).

The future lies not in the liberal-pacifistic line now peddled by Alliance and others - unity between classes, subservience to the State. It lies in a new conception of struggle. It is not a time to bury old, tarnished hatreds. It is a time for understanding what they were all about: how economic circumstances made superstition important. The sell out is not in any particular action of the Government. It is in forgetting the past and allowing the sacrifices to be, once more, in vain.

There is no hope for peace in giving a bit of the country to one neighbour and another bit to the other. That was how Poland was dealt with through the ages. The workers literally have the power to seize their places of

work and to make their districts 'no go' areas to police and Army. Once this potential is realised, the differences of the present day will seem trivial.

THE SUNDAY TIMES

Perhaps it is a circulation war with the Observer, but the Sunday Times has rapidly become liberal and objective in its reporting. Its reportage of Northern Ireland has been so, even if one disagrees with the interpretation. Thus it was of no surprise to find an account of the 'Valpreda Trial' and the whole Police/Fascist conspiracy in Milan (issue March 19th) familiar enough to our readers, but unusual in the heavily biassed British Press. (The 'Sunday Telegraph', for instance, speaking of 'anarchists accused of massacre' mentioned that 'witnesses had died mysteriously'. It - shall we say - failed to mention that these were defence witnesses. The tenor of the article, without so many words, suggested they were prosecution witnesses.)

It is perhaps not deliberate lying that in the Sunday Times Colour Supplement of March 26th, in a description of the struggle in Spain, a totally false picture is given. After all, journalists are able if they wish (as the Telegraph reporter did not wish) to find the truth in a case where they can contact lawyers, read the local press, interview specific witnesses. They are lost in a workers' struggle. The belief that you only have to ask around at the local C.P. contact is as false in Spain as it would be in England.

Workers Commissions

The whole story, lock stock and barrel, of the workers commissions is yet one more C.P. myth. The Communist Party has not succeeded in organising the workers. It does not have a rival "TUC"; it has never performed illegal resistance (unless one counts military espionage); its standing among the workers is low. What it does have is a united front with the bourgeois Christian Democrats which enables it to gain political advantage. To associate it with the Asturian miners is absurd, its relevance is in the bourgeois struggle for power.

The Moscow line Communists churn out (abroad) huge quantities of glossy brochures and magazines, but the hand of repression in Spain falls upon the libertarian movement and upon it alone. The Communist (Moscow-line) Party is likely to attain power in the way the Socialist Party did under the monarchy, when it sent its ministers into the dictatorship Cabinet of Primo de Rivera, to obtain 'concessions' for the now moribund U.G.T. against the militant C.N.T.

O.R.T.

Our correspondents in Spain view with

bewilderment the'admission'of the Sunday Times Spanish articlethat the O.R.T. is critical of the 'workers commissions' and is a rival working-class organisation. Their information is not so great. They never heard of it. It does exist, but outside Spain, and outside the working-class movement.

The report of the Sunday Times Colour Supplement seems never to have heard of the CNT. Bat in any struggle it will have to take note of it. In present conditions, the media will not be able to suppress so readily as they did in 1936 the news of the revolutionary struggle. Distortion was easy under press and radio conditions; but a roving team of TV cameramen - had there been such a phenomenon in 1936 - could not have avoided showing the role of the CNT and the anarcho-syndicalist workers.

WHY THE MINERS WON.

Not merely because they kept together. Also because, with memories of 1926 so vivid even among those who were not alive at the time, no politician dared sell out in the way the General Council of the TUC did, in that classic betrayal. And also because of an 'iron law' of politics: the one which states that in order to betray, you must first have a reputation to support.

Examples of the iron law: the French Socialists could not give up Algeria, because they were seen to be committed to Algefian independence. This had to be done by Gen. De Gaulle regarded as a saviour of the 'colons'. In the same way, the Labour Party could not impose direct rule on Ulster: the Tories (with a reputation for supporting and encouraging Ulster Unionism, could). The pacifistic Labour Party could not end conscription, it was done by the militaristic Tories.

The Tories passed, in a time of vindictiveness against trade unionism, the Trades Disputes Bill (after 1926) which the Labour Party had to repeal in 1945. But it was only the Labour Party that ever prosecuted anyone under it (at least, a Socialist Minister in the Coalition War Cabinet).

Had the Labour Party been in power, Wilson could have called out the Army as he did against the dockers. That would have had limited effect, as the Army cannot hew coal. But he would have done it.

THE TORIES DARED NOT DO IT. IT WOULD HAVE PROVOKED A GENERAL STRIKE.

Perhaps, too, the 'climate of violence' had something to do with it. Mr. Carr and Mr. Davies might have told their chief at No. 10 that they, after all, had homes to go back to... they hoped.

. . . . . .

ANSWERS TO QUIZ (page 7)

1. (a) Peter Kropotkin (by authors George Woodcock & Ivan Avacumovic).
(b) Emma Goldman (Frank Harris).
(c) Harry King, popular anarchist speaker in Plymouth (usually called such in 30's)
(d) Insp. Melville of Special Branch*(David Nicol, the anarchist, whom he prosecuted. Melville had boasted "the anarchists have found a Duke of Wellington in me"- meaning they had met their Waterloo, of course).
(e) Henry Ford. (William Randolph Hearst. Ford sued him for libel as a result).

2. Victor McLaglen. (The MP was Charles Doran).

3. All are named in differing Continental editions of the "Protocols of the Elders of Zion" as chief of the "Judaeo-Masonic" world conspiracy.

4. Adolf,later Arthur,Marx - better known as Harpo, is famous for saying nothing on stage or screen.

(*Melville was a notorious police thug of the 90s).

NAVAL SPY

Sentencing David Bingham to the incredible term of 21 years for selling secrets "almost beyond price" to the Russians, Mr Justice Bridge took the usual advantage of his privileged position to moralise. Mr Bingham had done no more than a good capitalist -"secrets" were in short supply so he sold them tothe available market - but to the Judge it was a "monstrous betrayal" that a Navy officer should do what the apostles of private enterprise preach. He went on, however, to make the amazing statement that "the damage you may have done is incalculable."

The Russians need to pinch our scientific secrets? They are already putting people on the moon while we suffer in more discomfort than on the Trans-Siberian Railway if there is a snowfall en route to Brighton . Pull the other leg, my Lord.

The spy is a miserable person. He seeks confidences and then gives them away, rather like a policeman. He ferrets into the affairs of others, rather like a detective. But whereas the preservation of power and privilege means Po Lice are necessary, spies are now useless and outdated. There is nothing they can betray, and what they give away, notwithstanding Judge Bridge, is easily calculable. Spies like Bingham don't get much because their information isn't worth much.

Why do the Powers trouble to keep spying going, when our spies can't even find out the secrets of the Trans-Siberian Railway snowshifters? Why, for that matter, keep the diplomatic service going? But they do. One day a springcleaning type of Government will abolish it all, the way Proctors' Commons and "the Court of Circumlocution" got abolished. Until then, the way will be strewn with broken lives like those of the Binghams, who thought it a way to make money like the diplomats do.

FOR WHOM THE BELL TOLLS

In the early hours of March 15 Special Branch raided the homes of IS and IMG supporters, as well as those of supporters of th Irish Solidarity Campaign. They seized documents and papers having no relation to arms (the ostensible reason for the raids) and, while linking up the smash-ins with the Aldershot IRA bomb explosion, what they seized had all to do with socialist activity in this country.

It is quite clear - it was even clear to some MPs like Eric Heffer (himself formerly a member of an "extremist" socialist group) that these were political raids meant to intimidate. The Political Police seek by example to prevent people becoming active politically.

Tory MPs attacked Mr. Heffer for defending IS' right to express their views without being subject to such harassment. They seemed to think that IS were entitled to all that came to them. "How do you know" they chorussed when he said they had no connection with the Aldershot bombing. Yet even the stupidest of Tories might reflect that only last year, the IS were (with one or two honourable exceptions - IMG with none) saying "Serves them right" when the libertarian movement was subject to the same harassment. Some stalwarts of Irish Solidarity like Gerry Lawless (now raided himself!) went farther, and denounced certain Anarchists in such a manner as to call for their arrest. "Ask not for whom the bell tolls, it tolls for thee."

True, they intend to be tory spineless conformists whatever the regime. But supposing other authoritarians grabbed the Politic l Police..too quickly for the Tories to rat?

FREE CHRISTIE !

The British Consulate in Milan has been daubed with the words FREE CHRISTIE and the German Consulate with the words REVENGE VON RAUCH, both in huge letters. In Barcelona there was an attack on the British Consulate: the Spanish police stood by, thinking it to be a Government-sponsored "spontaneous" Gibraltar demonstration!

Presented with a petition, a British consular is reported to have said: "Free Christie? I thought he got out four years ago." (He was released from his Spanish prison then).

.....

FROM TUCSON, Arizona: "The Gestapo repression carried out against you is similar to, although worse than, the campaign of police horror we experienced here in the last year.... Tactics don't vary much world over!"

ENGLAND'S POLICE STATE....

A COINCIDENCE

Writing on March 16 inthe Times (the very day on which, on another page, the Times described the raids mentioned in the adjacent column - but of course the article must have been written much earlier), Mr. Joel Hurstfield reviews the book on Policy and Police in Tudor England "The Enforcement of the Reformation": Contradicting the writer, Prof. Elton, who says that thesuppression of diversity was always under the law, and "all this was necessary to preserve the parliamentary regime", he comments:

> "This is precisely what is meant by a policy of ad terrorem: out of 100 men, one finds himself imprisoned, another gets himself executed, the other 98 read the lessons correctly and conform."

This is what the Police State is about. From Henry VIII to Ted Heath.

TUTANKHAMUN IN BLOOMSBURY

The British Museum is now exhibiting to enormous crowds the relics and treasures of Tutankhamun once the 'Beloved of Amen' - Tut-ankh-amen - the fertility god Amin or Amen is remembered to this day since the invocation to him in Egyptian prayer was (with much other worship) incorporated into the Hebrew religion, and is still muttered at the end of the prayers of Christian schoolchildren, whose proper celebration of the fertility cult would be regarded as delinquency and 'permissiveness'.

THE PHARAOH The Pyramid as a monument to the Beloved of the Gods was a fitting monument. Ancient Egypt was a Pyramid. Its base was slavery. Like all States, it inevitably came to worship Death, since the gods' beloved, the ruling class, 'can't take it with them but don't want to go otherwise.' For every work of exquisite craftmanship, for every wonder that has stood the test of time, for every ornate gold treasure, for every obelisk thousands and millions of slaves sweated and died under the lash, for the glory of the beloved of the gods. The wonders which the crowds queue up to see are the products of Auschwitz conditions of antiquity, lent glamour by age. But see them by all means. Your ancestors may have created those wonders.

NATIONALISM. For such is the blindness induced by nationalism one tends to overlook that when this boy was king, the 'Britons' had not yet come into being. The Celts were somewhere around the Middle East. It seems the United Arab Republic imagines it owns all these treasures because it happens to be situated on the same plot of ground. The idiocy of ground-worship makes them forget that long before the Arabs invaded Egypt, these Pharaohs and their empire had died and turned to maggots. The present State is in line of descent from the maggots.

In the worship of Death and Power, however, the modern State may claim to kinship with all that the ancient world displayed at its worst. Some aspects have been tamed. Most have been made more evil. Such is government.

"It is now becoming clear that Mr. Barber's budget was nothing short of a golden handshake for the investment trust movement".

— City Press, 30.3.72.

But that is not exactly how it will be expressed in election propaganda.

QUEEN'S DOCTOR GIVES ABORTION WARNING

Press Headlines, 31.3.72.

Is nothing sacred?

Our stuff

Announcement.

HOW THE STUDENT RISING IS RE-ABSORBED....Garcia Calvo

new simian pamphlet going at 20p.

MODERN SCIENCE & ANARCHISM
Peter Kropotkin

ORIGINS OF ANARCHIST MOVEMENT IN CHINA
10p.

The Silent Majority

Fifty billion flies can't be wrong... EAT SHIT!

BRITISH DEMOCRACY

Under our democratic system of government the committing of atrocities such as herding people into concentration camps and then murdering them would not be possible. That is to say, it would not be possible unless a Bill to the effect was presented to both Houses of Parliament, and fully debated according to constitutional procedure. When it received a proper majority, subject to amendments by the Opposition Party being carried, the Bill would still require the Queen's signature which would be granted automatically. This system of proper safeguards could not be curtailed or avoided except in the case of a national emergency, and then by an Order in Council introduced by the Government of the day. Once, however, the Bill had become law, all sections of the community would be expected to comply with the provisions of it, and fully co-operate despite any personal hardships or conscientious objections (unless a provision in the Act enabled persons objecting to wholesale murder were included, in which case these people could be given alternative forms of service, such as driving trains, building camps or converting gas supplies).

There is no doubt whatsoever that a proper sense of the rule of law would ensure the maximum support of the law even to the extent of orderly queues waiting for the railway trains taking away the victims. It can therefore be readily seen what advantages our democratic system of Government has over totalitarian forms.

SOCIETY NOTES.

As the late Daily Sketch is no more, we supply some notes on a fashionable wedding. General Franco's granddaughter has married into the Spanish Royal family. The groom's distinguished ancestors include whores, thieves, haemophiliacs, degenerates of all kinds. His distinguished relative Isabella, having been driven from her country with cries of "Death to the thieving whore", was succeeded by her son, Alfonso XII (against whom she intrigued with the rival Carlist dynasty). Alfonso died before his son was born: this accomplished embezzler had a passion for fast cars (it stood him in good stead in 1931, when the Republic was proclaimed). He married an English princess (at least, a Battenberg who had found her way to these shores). His one son, Don Jaime, being born a deaf mute, and his other son a spastic -- father of Juan Carlos --

(the entire dynasty is cursed with the legacies of marrying only among criminals irrespective of their genetic qualities), it was decided to pass themover the succession and give it to Don Juan Carlos (artfully named in the hope that the name "Carlos" might appeal to the lunatics who are attached to the legend of the Don Carlos passed over in the succession a century and a half ago, and whose descendants plunged the country into two-and-a-half bloody wars ----- they were only half responsible for 1936).

Once Juan Carlos becomes king, it is hoped, he will be removed and Don Jaime's son take over. Thus doña Carmen, granddaughter of the General, will ensure the Francos (even the Bahamondes, the family of Franco's mother, once martyred by the Catholic Kings) enter into the heritage of the Bourbons and the Hapsburgs. (At the moment they are still the Perhapsburgs).

But in the meantime, they are in the family of our own dear Royals... Strange that the sycophantic British Press, so avid at noting royal romances, did not notice this. Was it only the disappearance of the Daily Sketch? Or did someone somewhere whisper, cool it.... this is not exactly the sort of matrimonial alliance that is likely to add to the Royal image?

H. M. the Queen was received by Mr. Jomo Kenyatta.... the "obscene murderer of Mau Mau" no longer... When will Dame Bernadette Devlin OBE be deputed to conduct a royal visit to our gallant allies of the I.R.A.? When will Sir Joe Cahill dine at Buck Palace? If a politician says "Never" he is already calculating in his mind "when".....

Inquiries are proceeding into the conduct of two distinguished police officers in spending their holidays abroad with notorious gangsters paying the expenses. (The press was careful to say that wives accompanied the gentlemen: people have such dirty minds these days). The conduct of a police officer in going off to Malta at the invitation of a convicted criminal now acting as informer is no doubt indiscreet, to say the least.

BUT WHO DO YOU THINK PAYS FOR THE HOLIDAYS IN SPAIN?

Only the ceaseless co-operation of the Political Police in France and Britain has kept Franco in power. In the case of the British police, they have done this at the sacrifice of British interests (over Gibraltar). In the Foreign Office, people who do this sort of deal with the Russians have the grace to defect. In the Special Branch, they have skins like a rhinoceros.

But if they do not defect, why does nobody ever take action even to the point of an inquiry over the constant breaches of the Official Secrets Act?

Are you seriously asking that question, dear Sir? Action of that sort can only be instituted by Special Branch. Quis custodiet? as the Latins say....

DO YOU LOVE YOUR COUNTRY? Yes, Madam, some of it, especially in summer.

ARRESTS IN VALENCIA

Luciano Oliver Campos, a draughtsman, of Macosa (working for Material de Construccion SA), 21 years old, bachelor, born Teruel, living in Valencia was arrested on the 8th Feb. at 9 p.m.

DETAILS The Anarchist youth group in Valencia decided to bring out a pamphlet attacking the Education Law, objected to by many students. Luciano and another comrade were distributing it in the College of the Marist Brothers in the calle Salamanca of Valencia, at the moment when the evening classes (mostly young workers preparing for their pre-University course) would be coming out.

While they were on the first floor, a priest appeared - one 'Father Paul' - began shouting "Communists, communists! Grab them!" He called on the students and teachers to seize them, and rushed for a rope crying "Tie them up!"

During the fight that ensued one of the comrades smashed a picture of Franco. Finally, Luciano was overpowered by the mob of teachers and priests. The other comrade got away. He was tied up ahd taken to await the arrival of the police, getting his first beating-up while defenceless. Some of the students protested at the action of the priests, and went for a young priest-teacher who had a reputation for being a "progressive Christian". They asked him to intervene, but he washed his hands of the affair.

Regarding subsequent Press publicity in Valencia, which said that the whole affair was engineered by 'communists' and workers with no knowledge of the education law, it can be stated that the pamphlet was published by libertarians who were all taking pre-university and university courses.

In the hands of the police. Luciano in the hands of the police in the commissary was not allowed sleep. He was beaten up by fist blows on the face until his cheekbones were lacerated. He was stretched out on a cross (a normal police torture in Spain, with the arms outstretched and the weight on tiptoe, while one is fastened and beaten). They gave him the punishment called "goosey" (a favourite torture of the young) - the victim is made to crouch, his hands are handcuffed under his legs, and in that squat position he is forced to hobble along , being kicked and bullied, merely for the laughs of the police. (It is of course almost impossible to keep balance when kicked in the rear while in that posit-

ion). Finally he was charged, accused of Illicit Association, Illicit Propaganda, and injury to the Chief of State (that was the picture that got broken). The lawyers expect a heavy sentence.

The comrades in Valencia are carrying out a campaign of propaganda against the Marist Brothers. There is supposed to be a progressive Catholicism arising in Spain. Is the Old Whore surprised that many workers in Belfast and Derry are terrified of her embrace?

IS THERE A MARIST ORDER IN YOUR DISTRICT? IF SO, ASK THESE GENTLEMEN IF THIS IS THEIR IDEA OF CHRISTIANITY. IF NOT, WHAT DO THEY PROPOSE TO DO APART FROM PASSING ON THE OTHER SIDE OF THE STREET?

Other Arrests Another young comrade was concerned in the student troubles in the Faculty of Medicine. He was associated with the group, and was out on bail. As he did not respond to it, knowing what to expect, the police - quite illegally - arrested his wife, and told her she would be detained for a long time if he did not surrender to his bail. But it was possible to get her released. It was confirmed that the police were looking for five members of the Anarchist group, for "illegal propaganda". They finally arrested Miguel Amoros Peidro (22), born at Alcoy, in the fourth year of his studies of Chemical Science. He was so badly beaten up that the police denied to his lawyer that he was in custody. When, ultimately, he was fit to be seen, it was stated that he too was to be charged with Illicit Association.

The youth group is in touch with the arrested comrades. Luciano's family, a working class family whom he was helping to support during his studies, needs our support - though in fact they have said repeatedly they do not want to take anything. Already comrades in Valencia have demonstrated their solidarity. We hope that they too can be 'adopted' by groups or individuals abroad, as many other prisoners and families has been. (We shall be able to supply a direct address to anyone known to us).

APPRECIATION.

A student, released after several years in jail, came to see us to thank us for the work of the Anarchist Black Cross. We cannot give his name as he is returning to his studies in Spain. "Your work is very popular among the prisoners," he said. "All the libertarian prisoners know of you. Apart from anything else, the knowledge that someone outside is letting the world know about us, is the most heartening thing that could happen." Another ex-prisoner, now working in France, came over to visit Brixton Prison to convey solidarity with our secretary,

Stuart Christie, awaiting trial for eight months now. His words to us were: "Don't give up. The work you do is too important". (Incidentally, when he returned to his home, he was visited by the French police, who had a letter from the political police in London asking them to check up on why he had visited comrade Christie. How could pigs understand solidarity?)

THE FASCIST PLOT IN ITALY

The murder of publisher Feltrinelli in Italy is one more act in the drama of the Fascist bid for power. But the playwright is losing his touch: it is no longer original and the audience can see through the plot.

It was ingenious to murder Feltrinelli and put him beside an electric pylon to make it look as if he died while in the act of sabotage, but only the British Press was fooled and that is too easy. To kill a man becoming a dangerous opponent and to scare the bourgeoisie was a clever idea: but it failed to convince, and now even the Italian police - whom it was hoped to bring in the plot - are sceptical..that is to say, express their scepticism for it is certain they knew of the plot anyway.

After the bomb plot in Milan performed by Fascists with the connivance of police, to blacken the Left by the massacre, it was unconvincing even before the medical evidence came in.

THE TRIAL

The trial of Stuart Christie and the comrades arrested with him (The Stoke Newington Six Plus) - the so-called 'Angry Brigade' trial - will be at the Old Bailey end of May/beginning June.

It may well be another Reichstag Trial... if you do not believe so, wait until you see the evidence cooked up. It is already certain armed police will cover the Trial. Not to intimidate the jury or the witnesses of course... but it is extremely unlikely the defence will be allowed similar facilities...

INTERFERENCE WITH WITNESSES

During the committal, Mr. Richard Herd of the DAILY MAIL was seen covering the trial, which he could not, at that stage, report. Every day he was drinking with Cdr. Bond (alias Commander X, no relation to Malcolm) and Insp.Habershon. They furnished him with information to write a dirty story after the trial...No interference? Mr. Herd went to Belgium, to see comrade Octavio Alberola, and told him "as Christie has helped Spanish prisoners, now you must help him" (he has cheek enough to lecture the Pope on chastity)...by supplying "information about the international Angry Brigade" to help the Daily Mail which (wait for it!) is "going to run a campaign to help free Christie". Mr. Herd's article will describe Alberola as "leader of the International Revolutionary Movement in Western Europe!" Asked if this included, say, Maoists and Trotskyists, Mr. Herd said "What are they?" He will have to go back to Bond for further information. (The specialist, Dickie, is Sgt. Cremer).

THE IRISH MASSACRES

Some of the indiscriminate massacres in Ireland have shocked many people. They have shocked them because they understood such massacres to be the work of illegal bodies. What is a 'minor incident' in a war, a battle in which 'only' two or three dozen are killed - what is called a piece of brilliant strategy, in which 'casualties were reduced to a minimum' when it concerns a 'legal' war - becomes a major atrocity if not perpetrated by Governments.

However, that is what nationalism is all about, one nation against another. It is senseless. It advances nothing. War is only the bloodyexpression of nationalism.

The hue and cry against the two wings of the IRA (in reality, it is against all Irishmen, but allowance is made for Irish Catholic sycophants who join in) is because it is thought that the IRA is not a 'real' army but a revolutionary band. It does not think of itself that way. It thinks of itself as the 'Republic'.

In recent explosions, it has seemed as if indiscriminate massacre, <u>normally only the work of governments</u>, has replaced planned attack by the IRA in Northern Ireland. In all attacks by revolutionary groupings, they try to win support by attacking a clear enemy, hence they avoid indiscriminate massacre of their own side. This applies normally whether they are authoritarian or libertarian. Governments need not care.

They need only seek to preserve the power they have already won, hence indiscriminate massacre is useful for them. The deliberate lies of the RC Archbishop of Westminster, referring to 'anarchists', are attempts to deflect the protests against such action.

CUI BONO? The question one asks in all actions such as those in Belfast today is the classic Cui Bono - to whose benefit? Indiscriminate massacre by the British Army helps the British Government carry out its policy. What does indiscriminate massacre by Republican bombs achieve? It isolates the communities, splits the workers, disorientates the people... therefore the only force that can benefit is the Irish Government. It can both discredit its mortal enemy, the Irish Social Revolution, and its current enemy, the Sinn Fein and IRA (both varieties). At the same time it can drive a blow home at Westminster, making revision of the boundaries possible. Only consideration of this question enables Irish politicians to survive. Without risking political life or capitalist investment, the Irish

Government can - in all senses of the words - make a killing.

What is there to prevent it? No Government in the world has yet shrunk from indiscriminate massacre. Has it the power? For fifty years Irish Special Branch has been permeating, infiltrating, controlling the I.R.A. By now, double agents are so common between the Irish SB and the IRA they merit no comment; triple and quadruple agents exist, with the split in the IRA and the Irish Government. The Israelis pointed the

cont. C.

way: How to crush a guerrilla movement - answer, infiltrate it via international Marxism and appoint your own leaders, who will lead it to disaster.

SPECIAL BRANCH The Special Branch in London is not idle. Most of the crisis now within the top echelons of Northern Irish politics is the clash between the British and the Irish political police. Even the respective Governments are no longer able to control them. They learned long ago how to stir things up: they have never learned how to cool them down.

For <u>that</u>, the people must act for themselves. They could turn on the lot of the parasites that at present feed on them. Already the street communities of Belfast and Derry have shown that they could manage their own lives.. safe behind the ghetto walls of sectarianism, both sides have shown that they do not need the State to keep the peace. But while States exist they are never safe....There is no solution within the State.

THE MAUDLING PRIZE

FOR IDIOT OF THE MONTH

Once more the prize goes to an academic. To those who may argue it is unfair to give the prize once again to a professional, we can only say the Regius Professor of Greek, Hugh Lloyd-Jones, was an out-and-away winner. He wrote to the 'Telegraph' pointing out, to their delighted agreement, that Hitler, as he used the name National Socialist, was 'left wing' and 'as much a socialist as his friend Mussolini'.

Franco, too ('National Syndicalist') of course, but one wonders how some poor sod of a student would be marked who counted the <u>Telegraph</u> as one working for a Left Wing victory in Spain?

AWARD TO PROF. LLOYD-JONES: The same copy of the Telegraph in which his letter appeared, where a reviewer says of a book that 'it analyses the aims of the various Leftist groups and their political programmes which helped to bring the Republic down.' (The mind boggles in a welter of Telegraphese. Does he means Franco's side or the other?)

PUZZLING THOUGHT. If on the Lloyd-Jones Register, Anarchism because of its individualism is 'Right-Wing', then maybe Right and Left Wings <u>did</u> clash in Spain after all... we merely mistook one hand for another. All becomes clear again, 'Right' is what we thought was 'Left' and Hitler was on the side of the Telegraph after all.....

Since the take-over of Freedom by the Pacifist Faction, Peace News has advertised in it as "the other anarchist weekly". We have two? And not a word of anarchism or defence for Anarchists. Why do they not amalgamate and complete the theft? Peace News advertised as the "non-violent anarchist" one..Stop putting milk in my milk-and-water, beloved.

THE GUERRILLA WAR IN TURKEY.

The Turkish dictatorship was established as a pseudo-progressive regime, that had succeeded the ruins of the old Ottoman Empire. 'Young Turkey' of the Ataturk revolution is now very much Old Turkey, and it is still a dictatorship. It has never 'withered away', never given place to more liberal forms of rule, never mitig-ted its force. That never happens. Power breeds power.

But all the aged dictatorships are subject to winds of the present..even Holy Russia, even Turkey. This is what the youth revolt is about. (The Press - which has stereotyped images as well as litho blocks - speaks of 'students'. Certainly there is a student revolt. But in a country like Turkey, they are few. The rising is of an entire generation).

THE GUERRILLAS. And in what manner can the rising be expressed but by guerrilla warfare? The dictatorship has killed industrial action, except for sabotage. Now there is no tradition of strike action, the workers (without access to a press if only for means of communication) try it out only carefully.

Are they to obey the now senile dictatorship, the obsolete conservatism of the 'progressive' militarists of their grandfathers (and great-grandfathers) for ever? They say No. That is why they have gone to the hills and turned the cities into maquis.

THE MEN FACING DEATH

That is why the Turkish Government, having grabbed some of the guerrillas, condemns them to death. But it is surely because they are 'terrorists'? They are; but would it make any difference if they were not? For conspiring against the regime, even to suggest voting in framed elections or Gandhi-wise to suggest the masses sit down and be beaten up while the Leader hoofs it off to glory, would mean death or life imprisonment. And the stuff of which revolutionaries are made is that they prefer to die than to stay in captivity. Having accepted that fact, they do not always stay in captivity; if they did not accept that fact, they would be conformists. Liberals, perhaps, but conformists. A revolutionary is not one who labels himself or herself as such. It is what she or he does.

That is why the boys outside risked everything to save those now awaiting death. These defenceless men had no other defence than that. What they did was to capture three British radar technicians. That has naturally

upset many here. But consider the facts. Given the mentality of the rulers of Turkey, no threats against Turkish citizens would have meant anything to them. They therefore chose foreigners, thinking the foreign government would put pressure. How could they know that the British Government could not care less either? There is no longer concern for life or freedom in Britain (though in Europe it still has its old reputation, just as Russia has its particular reputation). All that counts is law.

Such a deal - to release one set of hostages for another, legally held, set of hostages - would be clearly illegal. Sorry, let them die. The cold fish-like eyes of the British State drop a tear. Tears cost nothing and the Lord Chancellor will not find them unconstitutional.

REACTION

The youth of Turkey knew what the foreign journalists did not. They knew their masters: when the press printed the official version "these terrorists killed the hostages" they knew better. The troops marched in and executed their victims so they would not have the publicity of a trial. That is why, now, bombs are going off in Ankara and Istanbul.

Did the dead men kill the three radar technicians? Were they killed in the crossfire? Or did the Turkish troops murder them so they would not talk? That, at least, Whitehall might find out. It is only undiplomatic to ask - not illegal.

ANARCHISM IN TURKEY

The Turkish Government - State-lovers through and through, and true heirs of the dictatorial Sultanate - have been quick to denounce the present youth of Turkey with what is the dirtiest word in statist vocabulary, ANARCHISTS.

Are the Anarchists really so strong in Turkey? Ten years ago there were, probably, none. Sixty years ago the Turkish capital was a centre for anarchist revolutionaries from Russia, Bulgaria, Macedonia... but there were very few Turkish Anarchists, if any, so far as the outside world knew.

In the last few years, thanks to the demarche made by outside events, and the opening up of the Press to anarchist activity, news about anarchism has spread. Study of it entered student circles; there are now many groups of workers and students - all very young - who profess anarchism or are moving to it, and who are in the forefront of the youth uprising. In the huge block of Turkish immigrants into Germany, most are reactionary; have never encountered progressive ideas. But in the smaller group travelling further west, many Turkish libertarians are found. Inside the country, they are in the new activism.

Was the group of Cayan and his comrades anarchistic, then? Possibly not. Like the majority of activists now coming for the first time into the revolutionary movement, they may call themselves Maoist or Marxist, but attribute to these doctrines methods of struggle unknown to Mao or to Marx. They are, not surpris-

ingly, put off by the betrayal of anarchism in the social democratic/pacifist fractions that pass off as anarchism, if they have heard of it at all. In the absence of an Anarchist International based on struggle for liberty - and the presence of these disclaimants' unions that pass off as anarchist - they pick hold of a name. 'Maoist' sounds not so bad as 'Stalinist' and they little realise it means the same thing. Because of these 'Maoist' connections they mingle with Nationalist struggles that have nothing to do with Freedom or Workers' Power.

This can be seen in many countries - Turkey is itself a case in point, with the identification of a part of the revolutionary movement with El-Fatah. Such Nationalist movements are riddled with spies and double agents (it is inevitable in nationalism... for the 'progressive allies' among the 'emerging nation-States' seek international police aid to protect themselves, especially when they travel abroad; and in these matters there is always a quid pro quo). It is the spies and double agents of Nationalism that try to win over and divert the struggle. Had they grouped under an anarchist banner that very fact would have made them suspect the "revolutionary governments". This is, however, the weakness of the whole rebel movement. Had there really been an 'Anarchist conspiracy' such a weakness would never have existed.

A new award

THE NORTHCLIFFE PRIZE for
Press Paranoia & Imbecility.

ALAIN CASS of the Scottish Daily Express, take a bow. The front page of the Scottish Daily Express (March 18) was headlined RED SUBS IN GUNS FOR IRA PROBE. An aircraft pilot had seen what may have been the periscope of a Russian submarine off Rathlin Island, though as it dived immediately, even this was not certain. He certainly did not see the cargo.

No doubts for Mr. Cass. He said Rathlin was "off the west coast of Ireland", two sentences later making it "the west coast of Ulster". It is, in fact, to the north-east of Ireland (within sight of the Kintyre Peninsula in Argyllshire on a clear day..it's where Robert the Bruce saw that spider. IRA men would be as conspicuous there as in the Himalayas).

The sub "headed for a rendezvous point just south of the border", says Mr. Cass. Not unless it can go through solid rock, it didn't. The coast of Donegal is thirty miles west and to the north of Rathlin.

And would Lenin's heirs be sending arms to the IRA? (Why, when the CP-backed Officials are marking time, and the Provos are making the running - and can get all the arms they want in Dublin?) A glance at the map supplies an alternative explanation. Maybe Mr. Cass did see a sub.(or his informant did). British and American naval ships, including Polaris submarines, go through the narrow North Channel to reach the Atlantic.

Carry on, Mr. Cass, you'll make Fleet Street yet. D C.

IN SPAIN'S PRISONS

At the head of the Ministry of Justice is the Dracula-faced José Maria Oriol, sinister co-leader of the big business Opus Dei, whose family own the Talgo railway line and are among the Big Five of the 200 families who own Spain. This "Torquemada risen from the tomb" - in facial appearance and practice - said there were no political prisoners in Spain. Then he put them all in special prisons.

It then became clear he had concentrated all the most dangerous opponents of the regime together. It was a national assembly of all forms of opinion bar one. He therefore decided to disperse them. Faced with hunger strikes, smuggling of letters, informing of public opinion, the prisoners were to be dispersed. This was in defiance of the law. But no Minister of Justice could bother with that. The constitution of 1873 guarantees that political prisoners should be kept together and the law anyway says that those convicted of similar 'crimes' shall go to similar prisons. But the politicals are again dispersed, many in districts far from their homes, where visits from their relatives and friends are made difficult. We publish the names (irrespective of political affiliation) of those dispersed in this unfeeling way.

by Miguel Garcia Garcia.

IN ALMERIA. Narciso Julian (serving 40 years);
IN ALICANTE. Yosu Abriskota Corta (serving 72); Francisco Xabier Larena Martinez (death penalty commuted);
IN CARTAGENA Yokin Gorostidi Artola (commuted from death); Floreal Rodrigues de la Paz (15 years jail); Andoni Arrizabalaga Basterrechea (comm. from death);
PUERTO DE SANTA MARIA Beoiristain (serving 30 years); J.M.Dorronsoro Ceberio (from death); Bittor Araba Bilbao (50 years);
CORDOBA Gregorio Lopez Irasuegi (41 years); Santoya (25 years); Xabier Izco de la Iglesia (from death);
CACERES Eduardo Uriarte Romero (from two death sentences); Marino Onaindia Machiondo (from death); Jose Luis Zalbide Salaverria (20 years and a day);
BURGOS Antton Karrera Agirre-barena (12 years and a day); Enrique Gesalga Larreta (60 years);
OCANA Iñaki Sarasketa (from death); Iñaki Orbeta (33 years);
ZAMORA (all priests) Yon Etxabe Garitacelaya (60 years); Felipe Elizaguirre (18 years); Yulen Kalzada (18 years); Alberto Gabika (12 years); Xabier Amuriza (12 years); Yosu Naberan (10 years); Nikola Telleria (10 years).
TERUEL Francisco Tuban Subira (18 years); Pedro Zugadi Ramirez (16 years);

(Continued over).

LERIDA Pascual Aparicio Raton (12 years).
ZARAGOZA Ramon Cunill Vall (30 years).
OCANA Yosu Loroño Etxebarria (14 years); Pablo Caloca Pila (12 years); Sarasola (12 years); Francisco Morales Ruiz (8 years); Juan Spindola Barroso (3 years); Juan Tejeiro Conde (18 years);
ALCALA DE HENARES (Provincial Prison) Jose Ramon Rodriguez Sanches (serving 12 years); Alcala de Henares (Women's Prison) Yone Dorronsoro Ceberio (serving 54 years and confined to psychiatric hospital); Maite Arevalo Larrea (25 years); Itziar Aizpurua (15 years); Arantza Arruti Odriozola (15 years); Mertxe Agirre (8 years).

The daily press has room only for the names of the footballers of Real Madrid. We list in homage the names of some of those fighting against the tyranny in Spain, who knew the risks they undertook and are now serving the penalty.

THE VALPREDA CASE

The Milan case has taken an ironic twist with Valpreda, "playing to the gallery", putting his name forward as a candidate for election. Can he be an anarchist? We never thought he was. He belonged to a hip fringe. All we ever knew of Valpreda was that he was innocent of the crime committed by the Fascists to try to damn the Anarchists...and to help kill Pinelli.

HOSTAGES

Many references in this number underline the new practice of our era - or rather, the revival of a very old one, the taking of hostages.

The Governments of the world have been doing it for a long time. If necessary, as in Ulster, they pass special laws to make it legal. Now, however, as seen in many lands - in Guatemala, Biscay, Turkey, Uruguay, often successfully, sometimes tragically, the revolutionary guerrilla movement is hitting back. It is taking hostages from them.

Kidnapping and holding hostages is repugnant to us. It savours of the prison system we want to abolish root and branch. We want to abolish the ruling class, not to imprison them. But the intention of the guerrilla bands is humane. They kidnap to prevent if at all possible mass slaughter. They do not want to leave their comrades rotting in jail. Unlike the British 'left' and lavatarians, they do not snigger "Serves them right ..must have been careless.. oh but the police went too far" when they find men and women lying in jail for their revolutionary opinions. They take foreigners in the hope that foreign governments will (as in Uruguay) put pressure on the home State that is not to be resisted.

There is no other way. The State that takes political hostages must expect, in future, political hostages to be taken in return. Nobody is playing it any longer according to their rules. It is easy to abolish political violence. Abolish political tyranny and it will go with the wind.